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I. F. Stone's Weekly

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How You, Too, Can Strike For Peace

I wish every reader could have seen the demonstration in front of the White House last Monday by the Women's Strike for Peace. Nearly 3,000 women, some from as far as Maine and California, picketed in a fierce and chilly rainstorm. Among them were several with children in arms, one with a stroller; there was even a blind woman, with a beautifully serene face, marching along with her dog. The good humor, the brightly painted signs smeared by rain, the multi-colored balloons they carried, made a vivid and inspiring sight. This was the biggest demonstration Washington has seen since the huge prayer meeting held by Negro organizations a few years ago at the Lincoln Memorial. It was an experience to go with the women to their rally, to hear the cables from similar meetings in London, Paris, Brussels, Rome, Vienna, Sydney, Calcutta, Stockholm, Montreal, both Berlins, Sofia, Budapest, Tokyo and a woman's group in the Soviet Union, and then go from there to the President's press conference and hear his friendly references to the demonstration. He said he saw it from the White House windows.

The Prison of The Presidency

To look out the White House windows at a peace demonstration is to look out of a prison. A President is hemmed in by gigantic blocks of granite interests and habits: the military bureaucracy, the arms industry, the immemorial suspicions and hatreds of our human breed, and worst of all the feeling of helplessness that freezes the best of us into inaction when we confront the immense problem of preventing thermonuclear war. This spontaneous and disarmingly amateurish Strike for Peace movement begun by two local women, Mrs. Dagmar Wilson and Mrs. Margaret Russell, is one sign of what can be done, given some leadership. There is a new stirring in the land. A group of student peace movements plan to converge on the capital in another great demonstration Feb. 16 and 17. The newly formed Turn Toward Peace movement, a coalition of various groups ranging from the United Auto Workers and the ADA to the Friends and the War Resisters League, with Norman Thomas as national chairman, is planning a nationwide series of demonstrations Feb. 2 geared to putting 10,000 telegrams in the White House Feb. 3 in opposition to resumption of atmospheric testing.

The decision will be made in February. These next two weeks represent the last chance to make your voice heard before that decision is made, to demonstrate to the President that there *is* a peace movement in this country big enough to count in the scales of national policy. The politics of our country have grown dangerously lopsided. There is a vocal extreme right. There is a center, which Mr. Kennedy has pre-empted. There is no longer a liberal opposition. The Washington scene is dominated by two institutions, a Congress with the archaic flavor and smug outlook of a country courthouse, and a Pentagon whose labyrinthine corridors lead one into a world of nightmarish military strategy. Only an upsurge from the grass roots can set policy free from these frightful institutions.

This is a moment when something can still be accomplished. If we do not resume atmospheric testing, if we instead enter a new round of negotiations, a new spiral of tension, fear and hatred may be avoided, a breathing space may be provided in which to turn back from the abyss. It is for this reason that we ask every reader of our *Weekly* to sit down and write a letter to the President during the next few days asking him not to resume atmospheric testing. Last Fall, as a first experiment, *Weekly* readers put more than 600 letters of praise into Senator Mansfield's office; rarely has a Senator received a mail of such quantity and quality. But for this we want a greater effort. By the normal magazine ratio of five readers for every subscriber and buyer, this issue should be read by close to 100,000 people. We want at least 10,000 letters and 10,000 postcards telling us you have written. Ten thousand letters would have a mighty impact at the White House. A hundred thousand would be a tidal wave. We'll print a boxscore as the results come in. Here's your chance to *do something*.

The situation on testing as we see it is this: The ease with which we monitored the Soviet tests (including one underground); the fact that an underground test of ours in December as small as 5 kilotons was detected as far away as Japan and Finland though muffled in one of those "big hole" salt caverns; the recognition that underground tests are of limited value anyway—all these facts point in one direction. This is that no Rube Goldberg system of listening posts on each other's soil is required to police a new moratorium. We believe the question of underground tests was blown up out of all proportion to reality by the Teller crowd. We also believe that militarily our own country has more to gain by a new moratorium than do the Soviets. One more round and they may catch up completely. For mankind as a whole, Americans and Russians included, a new round is madness; it is not just the poison in the skies, it is the poison piling up in men's mind that should worry us. This may be a last chance.

His Biggest Disappointment

Q. Mr. President, after one year in the office of the Presidency, sir, would you care to give us any of your comments with the first year and perhaps in particular the most rewarding and disappointing events that have come across your desk?

A. Well, I would say the most disappointing event was our failure to get an agreement on cessation of nuclear testing."

—The President at press conference, Jan. 15.

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Air Force Victory Here Over Military Moderates May Hold Clue to Molotov Mystery

A Staggering Missile Program Casts Its Shadow on Arms Negotiations

It has been hoped that the development of relatively invulnerable missiles would give each side a force that the other could not destroy. This would mean that neither could risk a surprise attack upon the other because the victim would always have missiles left with which he could destroy the cities and the civilization of the attacker. This is the so-called stabilized nuclear deterrent.

In the special Arms Control issue of *Daedalus* (Fall 1960), Dr. Jerome B. Wiesner, now the President's scientific adviser, argued that a system of stabilized deterrence could be a transition stage to general disarmament. He revealed that "studies made independently by the U.S. Army and Navy have indicated that, even in the absence of agreements limiting force size and permitting inspection, 200 relatively secure missiles would provide an adequate deterrent."

Our 5-Year Missile Plan

Dr. Hans A. Bethe shares Dr. Wiesner's views. The former in the speech we reported last week expressed the hope that the development of relatively invulnerable striking forces should make possible their reduction. The trend, however, seems to be in the other direction. In the battle over the new budget, judging by reports in the wake of the State of the Union message, the Army and Navy, which lean toward a stabilized nuclear deterrent, seem to have lost out to the Air Force and the aviation-missile industry. Mr. Kennedy said he would ask for "nearly 300 more" Polaris and Minutemen missiles. But these, according to Warren Rogers, Jr., in the *New York Herald-Tribune* (Jan. 12) would be on top of 1,295 strategic missiles "already in the works" and are part of a program to give the U.S. 1,589 nuclear sea or land missiles within five years. All this would be in addition to our 1500 long- and medium-range bombers.

What will we do with 1500 missiles and 1500 planes when there are about 50 prime targets in the Soviet Union? This sounds like the Air Force's counter-force strategy, the building up of a force so overwhelming as to make a first strike seem feasible even against hardened bases. Certainly these numbers are not called for by our estimates of what there is on the Russian side. The latest intelligence leaked from the Pentagon (see the *AP* dispatch in *The New York Post,* Jan. 5) is that the Russians are behind us in both ICBM's and Polaris type missiles. The missile gap is now said to be in our favor.

We have no way of knowing whether this is true, or merely meant to spread the idea that we are "ahead" and can therefore afford to be tougher. In any case such figures, coupled with plans for the building of so huge a striking force may have serious psychological and political effects. At home it may make the idea of a first strike against the Russians attractive. It may also make us less willing to negotiate on arms control or reduction.

There are people in the Administration who believe, as Acheson did, that such overwhelming power may force the Russians to cave in. The situation of strength policy didn't work in the Truman-Acheson era. It's a dangerous gamble now. It may have the opposite effect. It may force the Russians to step up their own rate of arms production sharply. If this calls for a reduction in consumer goods, it may also require a return to severe Stalin-like controls excused by fears of American attack. Instead of giving us a Russia easier to deal with, it may give us one more unyielding. These missile figures may not be unconnected with the mystery of how Molotov has been able to survive Khrushchev's attacks. The Pentagon may resurrect Stalin yet.

Well Not Exactly Maybe But . . .

Q. Mr. President, are American troops now in combat in Viet Nam?

A. No.

—Mr. Kennedy's Press Conference, Jan. 16.

"Saigon, South Viet Nam, Jan. 9 (AP)—The streets of this South Viet Nam capital are taking on an American atmosphere as more and more U. S. servicemen arrive —to train the Viet Namese to fight the Communist guerrillas. Details are still secret but best estimates are that from 2,000 to 3,000 U. S. servicemen of all branches are in South Viet Nam and the number is growing daily. The Americans were sent to help correct basic weaknesses in the Viet Namese armed forces —communications, intelligence, mobile transport and organization. But their duties in the interior often involve them in shooting with the Viet Cong guerrillas from North Viet Nam. One U. S. serviceman was killed recently in a Viet Cong ambush. . . ."

—Washington Evening Star, Jan. 9.

Why The New "Turn Toward Peace" Movement Opposes Renewed Testing In The Air

"The recent series of approximately 50 Soviet nuclear tests has yielded some new military information to the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, we oppose resumption of U. S. atmospheric tests on moral, political and psychological grounds which we believe outweigh any possible advances in weapons technology. Such tests would:

"(1) Create another spiral in the arms race and provide the Soviet Union with incentives to undertake still other tests to 'catch up'.

"(2) Add to international tension at a moment when general disarmament negotiations are about to resume, thus raising the question of U. S. sincerity.

"(3) Spread a feeling of despair among people at home and abroad because of our seeming inability to halt the arms race.

"(4) Damage the image of the United States around the world especially in Japan, India and Africa. In these areas there was a significant, though tardy, reaction to Soviet tests. There the U. S. is looked upon as a nation with a higher standard of international conduct than that of Communist nations.

"(5) Add to the existing levels of radioactive fallout, with its consequences for the health of present and future generations. Although there is no way to measure the exact amount of damage, it is particularly unfair to the unborn and the uncommitted to subject them to these dangers through decisions in which they have no voice."

—Joint statement formulated by the National Committee for A Sane Nuclear Policy, Friends Committee on National Legislation and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and distributed by Turn Toward Peace, a new national coalition of labor and peace groups.

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Brazil Angers State Dept. By Proposing Peaceful Co-Existence Code for The Hemisphere

U. S. Public Not Informed of Guevara's Olive Branch at Punta del Este

Writing on the eve of the new Punta del Este conference, we want to call attention to a significant omission in the new State Department White Paper on Cuba. The White Paper quotes Che Guevara as saying to the Punta del Este conference last August that the Cuban revolution had set an example for the rest of Latin America. This was used to paint a picture in the White Paper of a Cuba intent on exporting its revolution by military means to other countries of the hemisphere. What the White Paper omits is that Major Guevara went on to say (see adjoining box), that while Cuba could not give up the moral effect of its example, it was prepared to guarantee that it would not give military aid to revolutionary movements elsewhere in the hemisphere. This olive branch was not reported in any American newspaper we have seen. Indeed we did not become aware of it until we saw it quoted some weeks ago in *Le Monde* of Paris. We quote it now from the Spanish text obtained at the OAS headquarters here.

Brazil's "Live and Let Live" Proposal

In effect Guevara was offering Cuban non-intervention in Latin America in return for U.S. non-intervention in Cuba. This is relevant to the new Brazilian proposal for "creating the conditions of live and let live between a socialist Cuba and other members of the OAS." (*Washington Star*, Jan. 14). The Brazilian Foreign Minister, Dantas, in proposing it at Rio Jan. 12 expressed the belief, according to the *New York Times* (Jan. 13) that in return Castro "would accept the idea of a limitation on Cuba's attempts to interfere with other American States."

Brazil's proposal for a hemispheric code of peaceful coexistence is resented at the State Department which issued a special statement against it, calling for "continued and positive resistance to any totalitarian ideology." We wonder how this will be equated with Secretary Rusk's recent visit to Franco, when he invited the Fascist dictator to join Washington in a "triangular" relationship with Latin America. Franco overtly as an Axis ally before the war and covertly as an American client since has tried to spread anti-democratic and anti-Yankee conceptions of "Hispanidad" in this hemisphere, ideas as alien as those of Marxism-Leninism and the lineal descendent of the Holy Alliance clerical-authoritarianism which the Monroe Doctrine was designed to keep out of the New World.

The Kennedy Administration to its credit searches for compromise over Berlin, and over Laos. It urged India to negotiate over Goa and it urges Indonesia to negotiate over West Irian. It not only coexists with, but gives aid to other regimes which are at least as "Marxist-Leninist" as Castro's. We help Tito and Gomulka. We give aid to Guinea and Ghana. Why is Cuba alone the object of economic blockade, hostile diplomatic action and secret cloak-and-dagger activities which support in Cuba exactly the kind of bombings and assassinations we condemn when committed by the other side in South Vietnam? In any adequate answer two names would figure: United Fruit and Standard Oil.

Cuba's "Suppressed" Peace Offer

"So then, gentlemen, construct the Alliance for Progress on these terms: so that it will in truth expand the economies of all the Latin American countries; expand them so they can consume more of their own products instead of merely serving as a source of profit for North American monopolies; expand them, to assure social peace not to create new bases for an eventual war of conquest; expand them, for our benefit, not for the outside world. And to all of you delegates, the delegation of Cuba says, with all frankness: we wish, within our own way of life, to remain in the Latin American family; we wish to see it grow, if possible, at the same rhythm as ours, but we do not oppose its growth on any other basis. All we ask is a guarantee of non-aggression against our frontiers.

"We cannot, as the U. S. desires, give up the export of our example because that example is something spiritual which overleaps frontiers. That which we can give is a guarantee that we will not export revolution. We will give a guarantee not to move a gun from Cuba, not to export a single weapon for use in struggle in any other country of America."

—Che Guevara, at Punta del Este, Aug. 8, 1961.

British MP Says The Old-Timers and the Youth Share Urge for Liberty in USSR

"Sir—Ilya Ehrenburg's latest speech [defending Pasternak] recalled to me a conversation which I had in Moscow just over a year ago with an 81year-old journalist, the last survivor of the last Social Democratic newspaper, Novaya Zhizn. I asked him whether he felt that the post-Stalin thaw (Ehrenburg's metaphor) might turn again into a freeze. He replied: 'No, the young generation is already spoiled.'

"He meant that those who have had a taste of liberty can never renounce the appetite. I observed, indeed, that between the students of Moscow University and the very old, who by ingenuity or discretion had outwitted Stalin, there was an axis of libertarian feeling which turned them with curiosity towards the west. On the other hand, the image of a Soviet Union beleagured by enemies, as the U-2 incident seemed to indicate, was enough, in talk and no doubt in fact, to suppress those sympathetic promptings in favor of a resentful solidarity against the west.

"Does this not suggest that the emphasis of western propaganda to the Soviet Union should be re-examined in the light of the changes which are certainly taking place among the millions of young Soviet citizens who with access to higher education are publicly asking questions—about freedom of choice, for example—which have never before been asked, unpunished, in a monolithic Communist society?

"The bludgeon of abuse and threats won't change the intransigeant mood of the Russian people or its leaders; it will merely harden it. There is room, I believe, for the effective communication through the BBC and our diplomats of positive, democratic ideas to a Soviet youth which possesses all the generous impulses of the young—a student body which applauds the courageous author of Babi Yar, and which will as greedily 'tape' the language of liberty as it does today the jazz music which is blown across the Iron Curtain.

"But there isn't much time. The neo-Stalinists are waiting their turn. And Khrushchev, for all his inadequacies, remains 'the best Soviet Premier we've got.'"

—Maurice Edelman, MP, in The Times (London) Jan. 9.

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Chairman Walter Seems to Think It Un-American to Let A Man Confront His Accusers

Overlooked Loophole (As Wide As A Barn Door) in the New Passport Rules

Could there be anything more un-American than to send a man to jail without a chance to confront his accusers? Chairman Walter of House Un-American demonstrates his own odd notions of Americanism in attacking the State Department for its new regulations allowing passport applicants to face accusers. We would like to believe the change is due to a more liberal Department but the truth is that the reform in the regulations is made necessary by the fact that the Department will now be administering passport control under a criminal statute, the McCarran Act (the Internal Security Act of 1950). This makes it a crime punishable by a fine of $10,000, five years in jail or both even to *apply* for a passport if a present member of an organization ordered to register with the Subversive Activities Control Board.* The U.S. has not reached the stage—we hope it never will—when a man can be convicted of a crime without a chance to face his accusers. Chairman Walter, a lawyer, should know better. The Court has yet to decide (1) whether Communists can be forced to register and (2) whether they can be deprived of their rights to travel. We feel certain the Court on Fifth Amendment grounds will decide against registration. That will be the end of this travel ban.

An Iron Curtain Clause

A subtler travel ban has been overlooked in the excitement over the barring of faceless informers. An unnoticed section embodies sweeping travel controls through which the State Department can continue to operate its own Iron Curtains. "In order to safeguard the interests of the United States," Section 51.136 says, "passport facilities, except for direct and immediate return to the United States, shall be refused to a person when it appears to the satisfaction of the Secretary of State that the person's activities abroad would (a) violate the laws of the United States; (b) be prejudicial to the orderly conduct of foreign relations; or (c) otherwise be prejudicial to the interests of the United States." This is so broad and vague that the Secretary of State can do pretty much as he pleases under it. The problem would be, not facing one's accusers, but forcing the Secretary of State to specify just why he was denying the passport. This may prove difficult, considering the reluctance of the courts to interfere with the foreign policy powers of the Executive. This section would survive invalidation of the McCarran Act and have to be litigated on its own. The Supreme Court held in the Kent and Briehl cases that a man could not be deprived of his right to travel without due process of law. But no one can be sure just what that constitutional incantation would mean as applied to this section. To refuse a passport under it, the Department would not have to prove an applicant a Communist. It would only have to rule that his presence abroad would be prejudicial to the United States.

*** At present this applies solely to members of the Communist Party, the only organization ordered to register.**

Uh . . . Yes . . . Freedom

We have just received from France a copy of a petition sent to President Kennedy by a group of 30 distinguished French intellectuals asking him to grant an amnesty to Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson who are serving one year terms for contempt of the Un-American Activities Committee. Among the signers were Andre Schwarzbart, author of "The Last of the Just"; Claude Roy, who spoke for the conscience of France in his book on Algeria; Senator Francois Mitterand; the famous advocate, Henri Torres; the movie maker, Rene Clair; ex-Ministers Daniel Mayer and Pierre Cot; Andrew Jeanson, of France's Catholic federation of labor, and Claude Bourdet, editor of France-Observateur. **"We love America and what she stands for in the world," they wrote President Kennedy, "and deplore these political convictions, so at variance with the liberal traditions of your country." Mr. Kennedy, at the close of his State of the Union message, spoke of being ready "to seize the burden and the glory of freedom." It might seem that one way to do so would be to set Braden and Wilkinson free with a message reaffirming the right of dissent and non-conformity. But, then, even foreigners know by now that though it may be a little hard to gather just what we do mean when we talk of freedom, we don't mean anything like that.**

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